We

000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in area where there is a large bench for sleeping. There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the roof and often in front too. Here sit the women while they work. If there are two families to a house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel as in other kampongs. The church to which everyone here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamië, but since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are standard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue and black mostly. The designs are even poorer than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used for men and for women. They say that a cloth takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
304 few old people, it seems especially the women, have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

We Then we went to
614 the boys' house in Wailolong, which turned out to
882 be a windowless house with sleeping benches in-
562 side. Here the boys from about twelve years on
[342] sleep. Thus there is a real men's house here. There are three, I think, in Wailolong, because some of the suku share houses. Normally the rule is one house per suku. It is taboo for the girls to enter these men's houses.

124 Then we went to Leloba and began on the Vatter[1] social organization material. They were delighted to see the Vatter book, especially Roy who noticed his name in it.

614 I started with the usual outline of groups and got the following list of suku and subdivisions and sub-subdivisions of the suku. I had told the guru yesterday that there must be a sub-subdivision, but he said no. He said he had thought it over and understood what I meant. The names
[171] often have direct references to parts of a house, and thus it looks like, as in Ambon, there used to be one suku to one house. Thus Ama Marang Do(ng) Lau(ng) means (the last words) bale-bale laut, i.e., in the old days the ancestors used to sleep on the bale-bale part on the sea side of the ancestral house they shared with the other division. Therefore, Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng), which means bale-bale darat, or the bale-bale on the land side, was for the other division. The former has more power than the latter.

614 As for the recurring Lango' Bele', it means
565 big house, while the twin term Lango' Kene'
788 means small house. The former is the section of the subsib or ama, with more power. The latter is the section with less power. Maki(ng) means descendants. The whole system has reference to the rank of the sibs, which is symbolized in ritual animal killing. Thus Kottang holds the head and is the chiefly or head suku normally. The symbol is the head. Keleng holds the feet, and they are the assistant suku to the head.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

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614 166 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 773 824 784 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring below Weol. There are bamboo trees there descended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 784 562 783 Women from other clans marrying into Weol must take on the taboo of their husbands. A Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 632 624 622 634 There is a nobility which applies to the radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the central kampongs of the gelarang districts, for example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

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614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum.

[562] Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

582 rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 583 There may be a system here, but they are sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas[1] [114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 181 The assistant saw the point of a male-female dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 585 At the marriage feast they kill animals. Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 585 565 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas (page 351)[1] are all right, but the amounts quoted are for the upper classes. The lowers have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuarming" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

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784 dants of suku". (Evidently related to the
262 adat kepala kampong, the ata ngguäh nua /"man
614 suku descendants kampong."/) I must ask what
562 the suku membership variation in adat kepala kampong are; here he is an Odja. These taboos apply not to men nor to children of the suku but to women who marry into the suku only. This is very unusual, in ethnography. In the Odja suku these apply to the tomato, dog, eggs, and four other kinds of food. The males of Odja and the children may eat everything, but the wives may not. Thus if a Wanda woman marries into Odja, these are her taboos. If she eats
[753] any of these, she gets terrible sores, and they always point to their arms, just as the Ambonese say that sores on their arms are caused by the same thing. The Wanda taboos are the tomato, eggs, a kind of maize (djagung Solor), and ripe coconut.

784 (2) Family or household taboos. These are
262 called pire sa'o teenda (sa'o teenda means
753 family). These are set by the father (and by
592 the mother too?) on all the members of the
614 household, including the man, wife and children. Thus the assistant had bad sores two years ago and asked the dukun why. The latter diagnosed the cause as buffalo meat (the horns stuck through the skin). Whereupon Migo declared that buffalo meat was taboo to himself, wife, and children. Such a taboo stays in the direct line (thus a kind of lineage totem) until some head of a line decided it is needed no longer, and then a feast is given together with an animal sacrifice to lift the taboo. Thus Migo
[773] has started a taboo, and perhaps fifty years hence, unless it is lifted, they will have a story in his family about the origin of the taboo. The suku taboos have more ancient legends to explain their origins. These taboos of household restrictions are thus a kind of assumed taboo.

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614 assumed taboo.
784 (3) Personal totem taboos. These apply to
262 individuals only, not to a wife or husband or
753 child or anyone else. This is a kind of "allergy." These are pire se'imu (the latter term means "individual"). Thus the kapitan's wife got sores and decided (dukun consulted?) that it was because she had eaten buffalo meat. Now she eats none. If she wishes to lift her taboo, she must give a feast with animal sacrifice. The kapitan and his child may eat buffalo.

614 The kapitan's wife thus has the taboos of
784 the kapitan's suku and her own personal one
583 too. She was also of Odja, but until she mar-
●562 ried did not have the Odja taboos. Migo's wife has Odja suku taboos (she was from the suku Wanda) and also Migo's household taboo. The kapitan has no taboos, but Migo has his household taboo. It is notable that if a man
[591] pays no bride price and lives matrilocally, his wife does not take on his suku's taboos, but assumes the taboos of the women who marry into her own sib. That is, she is a married woman, and thus must follow suku taboos. But since the bride price has not yet been paid she is not a member of her husband's suku, and so she merely takes on her own suku's taboos as though she were a woman married into her own suku. When the bride price is finally paid, she takes on her husband's suku's taboos, and of course they move into his house. Thus one can say that the totem of the suku hits women only, but only women married into the suku, not women of the suku. Lineage taboos are coming in all the time, and they apply to all household members and may pass on down from generation to generation. Personal taboos are for individuals only. This is queer, and I am sure that I have not yet got the whole story.

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

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614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at each generation the other chimed in with a chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing holding the head of the pig (as this ama has the Kottang function in this suku); the man from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama has the Kelen function in this suku); and the man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
● 562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno wudjo, but there are no more in these groups who are still pagan, so they have to use old women. I can see the same thing on the schedule: in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are very young (e.g., three or four years old) as they are not yet Christians, but others are very old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making the best of it, but what can they do when the old women are dead? The answer is found in Leloba, where they no longer are able to have rites. They have given up the suku and ama rites, but still have the kampong agricultural ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
[769] the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are allowed to recite the names of the ancestors. They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.
614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

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123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

614 We discussed a certain rank which appears in
343 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
●562 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
243 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

[114] We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
614 He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
796 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
831 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
784 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
241 gins, but now with so few young girls still
[852] pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[887] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[797] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

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694 This was not so. They were merely a kind of fine
231 for committing the wrong, and the animals were all those of the groom. Both parties give animals at the wedding feast.

665 There are no political parties here, not even
181 internal factions. At any given time they may have a kind of loose lineup on an issue, but this is purely ephemeral. There is not even enough issue feeling to have meetings on any subject. Roy keeps saying that the folk here are stupid, and when it comes to politics they are youngsters. This is an illustration of the prevailing habit in East Indonesia of running themselves down. This may be a form of politeness or modesty or a real feeling of self-disparagement learned through many years of subjection to the radjas and to the Dutch.

462 No posts are held by women. This adat. Women
•562 are household managers, and work on clothing, food cooking, and the arranging of marriages (or at least advising the men on how to arrange good marriages). They also hold the positions in ritual of nu'a luka and tuno wudjo. If there is a discussion taking place in a house, for example, a group of lads sitting about and talking on political topics (at this level), etc., the women of the house may join in a bit. This is all. However, I don't get the impression that women are suppressed here at all.

186 In the old days, the local people were very proud of Larantuka, and they remember now that Larantuka alone, in all Flores, remained independent when the rest was under Bima. Larantuka was free, and as Roy says, "It bordered on Bima." As for feelings in regard to other radjadoms in Flores, there seems to be no rivalry or enmity. They have not come up enough to do as the people in Ambon do, and say that Flores is the "forgotten island." They do not yet know enough to complain about their share in the Indonesian government.

582 835 827 179 sirable and that for hundreds of years the folk had been doing this sort of thing (first cousin marriages) without any ill effects, to counter his saying that first cousin marriages caused poor offspring, for example, feeble-mindedness. He took this barrage with polite resignation, but said that he had seen plenty of bad cases of close inmarriage children. The probability is that there is some inbreeding chance of recessives coming out, at least enough to use this argument of rationalization, and surely the priests have played up this "scientific" justification. It is interesting, however, that he uses the pseudo-rational explanation and not the appeal to divine authority, which would at once raise the issue of the wrongness of a strong pagan rule.

562 887 The next day, our last, was a half day, as I had to get to Maumere in order to get Kattenburg on the place to Makassar. At the end of the session we had lunch with the two guru, and the younger daughter served. Then I found out that in every house the oldest woman is the nu'a luka rumah tangga, paralleling the ritual functions for the women of the nu'a luka suku and the nu'a luka ama. The mother is in Makassar, and the eldest daughter is in the hospital, so this one acted as the server. The nu'a luka is important here, as she directs everything in regard to cooking and eating and also for caring for small animals, weaving, etc. She is the household manager. In this poor area food division is especially important.

127 I looked up the 1930 census material in the report of the Controleur then and found the following:

513 We
882 Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really
178 survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the
[171] main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak),
where there are seldom any guests, and the boys
simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and
found that it has sleeping benches and even a
[136] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala
kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in,
and the kepala kampong said that this was abso-
lutely not the case.

178 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama,
513 where they have regular boy's houses. This
882 fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house
177 in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area
644 has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama
pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these
is our "office" when we use it. These boys'
houses are arranged according to suku, and are
shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of
acculturation within a pattern from one district
to another.

●[562] The girls have no such houses, and never did.
882 However, before, as today, they seldom sleep
561 with their parents when they get older. Groups
887 of them have hangouts where they sleep together.
513 These groups are of friends. They weave to-
gether, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc.,
at night. They just fall asleep there, together.
This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that
they get a section of a sleeping bench in one
of their parents' houses. There they bunch up.
Everyone knows where the groups hang out.
Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in
groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the
girls" who are old and widows, and who go back
to their girlhood days and sleep with their
coevals, and have a good time. If this is so,
it is practically a revived age-grade for the
girls who in their youth grew up and slept to-
gether and now at the end of their life bunch
up together again.

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000 up together again.

Some of the suku are large, some are small, 614 and some have died out. They have the same 171 idea in this regard as I noted on Ambon: that 789 a group which dies out may well have disappeared because of a wrong committed in the old days. It is as though there were a curse on them. Roy mentioned a case of an ama (I think) which did a lot of killing. Now it is extinct. Another group used too much magic, and it too died out. (Magic keeps cropping up. They have taken on my term kekuatan adjaib with a vengeance. I often wonder if they are kidding [123] me, seeing that I like the pagan stuff.)

● 562 Roy says that the roles of the sexes has 178 not changed at all. However, when there was 708 much warfare formerly, the women were important in helping the men by bringing in supplies, encouraging them, and in making magic against the enemy behind the lines. (Supply, psychological warfare, morale division, and "research.")

178 One firm rule which is changing today, however, 462 is that in the old days the women never did work 241 in the field, except for helping in planting and in the harvest. This is still so in a large degree, and it is true enough that the women are seen around the kampong all day while the men are off in the fields. However, nowadays more women go out and help with agricultural work. This is a slow trend. In the old days men would be ashamed to have women doing agricultural work. This was not their role (and there is a very sharp sex division of labor here).

Indeed, women have no work, properly speaking, except house work. They do very little agricultural work, even today. The planting stuff they do is clearly ritually linked, at least in part, and the harvest is evidently always an exception.

562 Roy says that the women have equal status,

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562 but the men have a slight edge on the women. They are more "important." In rights, privileges, etc., they are equal. There is no abuse of women, and they are supreme in their own spheres; it is just that the men's sphere seems to be a bit more important. Women scold and shout and order the men around. They are not
[593] suppressed. If, for example, a man drinks too much, his wife will simply stop fixing his food and he will quickly come around and apologize.

584 Formerly, most marriages were prearranged.
178 This is less true today. Indeed, there was much
882 more forced marriage before, and I get the idea that it is rare for one to show resistance when faced with a parental choice. There were cases
[762] of suicide (male and female) and running away. In the old days, the regular thing was for the parents to fix up everything by themselves. Today, more and more of the boys and girls speak up telling whom they like so that the parents learn of this before they try to fix up the marriage arrangement. Thus the initiative is shifting from the parents to the children.

I get the idea that there was quite a lot of trouble in the old days in this regard. Perhaps this was more pronounced as new ideas came in, if such an expression can be used for this stagnant place. For example, Roy's brother ran away.

764 At this point there was a funeral. The other
[177] guru had excused himself, and then we heard a low chant approaching, in the local language. It sounded like the Latin chanting the Catholics do in procession (an obvious imitation of the priests' chanting, in the local language). Then a line of people appeared, two by two, with a bamboo coffin of a little child on a litter, and behind this the guru with a sheet on, which had been made into a kind of cloak, resembling that of a priest. Behind him came the mourners. The

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521 178 887 At feasts, when the old rites are put on, the old people reminisce over the old days and the old ways, especially when they get drunk. Then they are mournful.

562 641 There are no women in politics. They do not come to the election meetings and have no voice in the government. They are not even reckoned in when the population is totaled to determine the number of electors. They have no political representation, and Migo says that everyone would be against having women take any part in politics. It is simply not right.

829 He says that they are stupid here. By this he means only a few people know anything or ever say anything about Flores or Indonesian politics. And even about the local affairs they say almost nothing. It is starting today, and there are a few people who are thinking a little. But how absolutely rudimentary it is! This is the most backward place yet, by far.

Locally the people have a vague idea that Roworeke is the most important kampong in the district, because it is the center. The fact is, and the kapitan and a few others know this, that rank and influence of the districts in Ende is in the following order: Nggobe, Rodja, Rewarangga, and Pulo Ende. Below this are the other five. About all the people know is that Nggobe is by far the largest, the most populous, and thus the greatest.

They do not know what Ende's place in Flores is, or anything about the place which Flores occupies in Indonesia. This is beyond their ken. There are no political ambitions (yet note that the suku Reandona has been trying to get a man into the kapitan post). They are politically dead. They know and talk nothing about the Dutch, the Indonesian Republic, etc.

They knew that the Queen was their radja before, but that didn't mean much. They know

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513 less pondok where in the daytime I see women
882 weaving. They call the boys' houses "kuwu."
There are no girls' houses. The girls sleep
with their parents, or rather each grown girl
has a separate apartment in the parental house.

562 Males are more influential, and they give most
178 of the orders, but women will revolt if men do
not behave. They will not give the men food,
they will scold the men, etc. They act up,
however, only if the men misbehave. And they
are not afraid of doing so. The girls nowadays
are a bit freer than before in regard to talk-
ing up, etc., but there is very little change,
in general. The old folk are not too pleased
about having the girls in school. They can't
see the use of this.

614 Correction: It suddenly turned out that
597 there are two ata nggaeh nua in this kampong,
Bapa Ketjil, for the Odja suku; and the brother
(older) of the kapitan for the Gusa suku. If
the suku is large enough, it has such an adat
expert in a kampong. These are the only ones
large enough here. Then the true story of the
kapitan came out. He is not classified as a
member of Odja, but actually he was born a Gusa.
The former kapitan adopted him. He became a
foster child, or ana gave (the g here is pro-
nounced like the French uvular r). I asked if
this was what Wouden called ndueh, and they
were surprised. It turns out that ndueh means
"to have two wives." (How could Wouden's
source have made this error?)

Such a foster child becomes a member of his
foster father's suku. There is no ceremony;
he just moves in. He takes on a new set of
relatives, but also keeps his own. He becomes
a kind of "double-suku" man. Thus the kapitan
calls his real brother kaka, and also uses this
term for his new brothers in Odja. But I note
that he married an Odja woman, and it seems

[See pp. 208-85 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -Analyst]

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582 the previous talk of the tuan tanah that there
614 are preferred clans. I will clinch this when I get the va'u membership of the inmarriers.

The next day I started in on some more question in regard to social organization.

[103] Note that the name of the kampong below is
346 Tjantjar, not as I have spelled it above [Tjantsia]. I went there halfway through the morning as I heard drums and gongs. There were girls (looking very Hawaiian) sitting on the porch of the house next to the new one of the tuan tanah now being built. The timbers are up. It will be a rectangular house, although the one it replaces was round (I made a photo of the latter only a month ago, which shows how fast the old type is vanishing). The drums and gongs were being beaten because this is necessary when a new tuan tanah house (rumah gong-gendang) is being built.

346 There were several drums and several gongs
533 (and I found that each tuan tanah house has
776 several of each). They must be beaten all the
824 time, with short pauses, and the girls take
● [562] turns. The men may help too (for garden beating, only men may play the instruments). This has to go on all the time while the big house is being built. The reason is that the wood (always spirit-ridden here) must be constantly kept pacified and told that it is being used for a great purpose, a big house. For ordinary houses this is not necessary. (I wonder if the idea is also in order to get the wood used to being in a rumah gong-gendang?) Before the trees are cut for the wood, they are told that they are being cut for a high purpose. Each grove of trees has a local spirit called darat. These are tree spirits. The generic word for spirit is ro.

778 I notice each day on my way here that there is
776 a grove of fine trees standing isolated on a
824

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346 there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.
824 They beat the gongs and drums to keep the wood
533 satisfied and I suppose to make it think that
776 the work is going on. Also, I notice that a few men carry planks up now and then to the rafters, perhaps making as though they were carrying on the work. Meanwhile a delegation is in Ruteng to persuade the carpenters to return. The situation is desperate, and perhaps the folk regret having argued with the tukang in the first place. They must "make the wood cool," they say. This is dramatic.

I also noted that a pig was being skinned in the shed nearby. This is for the workers, but it had been ritually killed with prayers, etc. The drum and gong rhythms constantly changed, and the girls are really clever. This
● [562] is beautiful stuff. There are beats which are peculiar to men and women, and also some which are used by both. These people are really virtuosos. All day the women sit thus, doing their duty by the wood spirit.

There is a main post in the rectangular house too, and when it is set in, animals are killed and blood is placed in the hole.

342 Until about ten years ago all houses here
178 were round. Today there are very few of the
346 old round houses left. Cornelius[1] says there is scarcely a single tuan tanah round house left, because everyone must contribute to the cost of a new one, and when they build one they want one that will be a strong rectangular type so that it will last for a long while. The cost of
[435] this new type tuan tanah house is nearly fl. 3000.00 in addition to the free labor contributed. Each family contributes to the cost and also gives animals for the workers, ceremonies, etc. It is a big thing.

342 I went into one of the two round houses left
178 in Tjantjar. It is a bit different from the

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

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484 In the Japanese time trips were made to
166 seek cloth, etc., but now this is done to a
lesser degree, and the people never leave Mang-
garai although there is quite a bit of movement
[438] within the area. The people who do this moving
are the men who buy and sell horses, tobacco,
etc. If they are away for long or at some dis-
tance, there is a feast when they return. The
four who have left the area have not yet re-
turned. When they do there will be a great
gathering to hear their experiences. The as-
sistant has seen this happen in Pau. Formerly
there were no relations really with even near-
by places like Tjumbi, except for marriages,
and if they went to war in the dalu's army, or
had internal wars, (which were rare). Nowadays
there are many more relations within Manggarai.
[621] In the rituals the only environs mentioned are
the environs of the kampong. This comprises
the ritual world and the social world of yore.

484 Today they travel more than they did before,
178 but still they do not go very far. Formerly
492 any outsider was fair game for robbery and
166 murder. Thus they were afraid to go afar.
[609] There is little in the way of transportation
here. Also, the kampong is a bit too far from
Ruteng to make regular trips back and forth
easy. However, the horses make Manggarai peo-
ple greater travelers than, for example, the
inhabitants of Larantuka. Every household has
[422] at least one to two horses. They are a big
thing here, and now I see why I got the impres-
sion at once that there is more internal move-
ment here than in most of the Flores areas. It
is the horses. The people are fine riders, and
the horses, although small, are fast and
[562] spirited. Women used to mount carefully and
the horse on which they rode was led. Now they
jump on and gallop off (still, I don't see many
women riding horses).

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241 178 [493] plow came in only five years ago. Still, there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot make them.

291 178 Fifty years ago men dressed only in loincloths. Only the rich had pants or sarongs. They also had shoulder cloths. There has been no change in the dress for women. They used the same kilt down to just below the knees as they use today. Now, however, more women dress in sarongs and kebaya. Pants, shirts, kebaya and sarongs are carefully kept for special events. They are really one's "best," and they are not plentiful. Nevertheless, nearly everyone owns something of this sort.

There is probably not a single pair of shoes in the two kampongs.

[287] Formerly, a long time ago, they used tapa. And in the Japanese time the people made tapa again. They also made wooden hats. The tapa making was pre-Dutch.

[301] [304] In remoter areas a few loincloths are still seen. So are earrings, rings, and bracelets (no leglets). Men never puncture the ear lobe.

302 301 292 The style of cutting the hair short for men came in only twenty years ago. Formerly the men were great for beads. Now they are of little importance. The festive ceremonial clothes I saw in Ruteng on the dancers are pusaka. They are mostly men's pusaka. The horns are made of buffalo hide.

304 178 Tattooing (tikam) is brand new. It came in only ten to fifteen years ago and is now going out. It was done by men who learned how, that's all. However, it is just about gone, and there were not very many people who had tattoos at any time.

304 178 562 881 Women always puncture their ear lobes. Both sexes file their teeth, and this must be done before marriage. Some young people (for example, the assistant) do not do this, but they

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304 say of such people that they "grew up in school."
178 This is still preserved by almost all others.
562 It must be done before marriage. Thus, the
881 kraeng did not have his teeth filed until he was twenty-five years old, just before marriage. Usually the teeth filing takes place much earlier, especially for the girls, who have theirs filed at about fourteen years. Formerly they filed the teeth down to the gums of both upper and lower teeth. Many of the people here still do this (I saw one young girl with only stumps left for teeth). The ordinary people do the filing. They used a stone before, but now they use an iron file. (I note that these people take to new tools very fast. They use all sorts at once. This means that there are no taboos on new techniques, and this should help.) Nowadays most people merely file their teeth even. And there is no feast.

There never was any cutting here.

439 Imports here include cloth, salt, tobacco and fish. Exports include stock, rattan and a few other wild products. There was not much business of this sort and never was. There are no markets. Formerly there was no money. Now it is plentiful. Formerly barter was the
436 only means of trade. Note: in 1942 the Dutch called in all silver and gave out only paper money. The Japanese thus easily took all the silver (the Dutch were invariably mistaken).

493 There are no cars here. There are three people in all Manggarai who could drive a car. None of these is here.

There is very little traveling done by car. The only autos are those of the traders (Chinese) and the government. Fifty per cent of the population have never ridden in an automobile.

178 The main change here is that formerly no out-
425 sider could buy land in the kampong. Now an

War

178 outsider can buy land in the kampong. Also, the
425 kraeng privileges have been cut sharply. In
[422] regard to property in houses, things have remained the same except for the new private houses (see below). There has been no change in the personal articles and ceremonial objects.

423 The land is family-owned, but there are some
428 individual pieces (for example, the assistant's).
562 The kampong has eminent domain, and it is a tuan tanah's. When an old man dies, the land is divided, but the eldest son gets his choice and the larger share. If there is only one garden, he gets it. But generally each son gets a share. Women get no land. Personal effects are divided. They work the land as a family unit until the old man dies.

423 Houses which are large are the property of
178 the inhabitants, who build them. Thus ownership is communal. But a great change has taken place since they have been building single houses, e.g., the assistant's. The eldest son gets this new kind, after all others have married off.

574 I note the remarkable ease of sleeping in houses here. There is no fuss to put someone up. Thus the assistant slept in the tuan tanah's house last night in Veol, and tonight the tuan tanah will sleep in his house at Pau (they are going to talk much more, and he promised the tuan tanah some palm wine for which I paid).

462 As far as specialization goes, the women make mats, do the cooking, wash clothes, fetch water, do the gardening, sew, and take care of the children. They also care for the fowls and pigs. There is not a single sewing machine here. The women also pound grain.

Men plait songko, work in the gardens, carry on trade, gather wood, and do heavy work around the house, and care for buffaloes and horses.

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634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

●[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. [614] [632] Veol is the center of the gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

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533 797 [562] school[1] is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

[591] [611] Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride price and make the return gift. If a bride price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

[1] [i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

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582 291 178 people married earlier, because they got their clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 178 584 Formerly, the position of women was really low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius[1] says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 768 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

586 another wife.

586 In the case of adultery on the part of a
684 woman, a fine must be paid to the grieved hus-
562 band. The wife pays only a little, her paramour
a lot. In the case of a man committing adultery, there is no fine or punishment of any sort. The wife may be angry, but that is all.

A man may divorce an errant wife, but there is no bride price return. This just about never occurs. A man is satisfied with the fine.

Adat here does not allow for killing an adulterous couple caught in the act. This may be done later, but it is still not allowed, and not condoned. The payment of a fine is the thing here.

If a divorce is requested by a man, there is no repayment of the bride price, and he must pay one horse. If a wife asks for a divorce, the price must be repaid. The children always stay with the father's family.

842 The people here like many children; the more the better. There is no set limitation. When I talk about birth control, often, all over they say about condoms that they are "like the Japanese use." He was surprised about other methods of birth control. Until now there has been no thought of limitation.

Cornelius[1] says that about ten children are
[163] born per woman, but only about half or a little more live to adulthood. Sons are more important. If a couple has only one child, they prefer a son. A few more sons than daughters are wanted. Va'u and bride price considerations are important.

868 When the children are very young the mother takes care of their education. Then the children follow the parent of the same sex and learn their roles and work.

584 There is just about no courtship. Formerly
178 marriages were all prearranged. Now, most frequently the young people tell their parents

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

We

000 "standing." There are plenty of songs. Singing
533 is the greatest art, and I was impressed extremely with the school performance. A priest who was musical said that they are excellent and strange. The new songs like krontjong, omba' putih-putih,[1] etc., are sung only in the towns. Here only a few know them, but nearly all the songs which the majority of the people know are old Manggarai ones. Cornelius[2] said that there are about ten kinds of rhythms in
● [562] drum and gong playing. Some are for both sexes, others are for men or for women only.

221 May, June and July are relatively free of
527 work. Otherwise there is little free time. Feasts are the fun times here, and they are largely not at set times.

[526] Soccer is loved and so are horse races.
541 These are not native. They are held either in
525 town or along the road here. This is true especially at harvest time. There is betting.
[177] Cock fighting has come in a little from the outside.

538 There are plenty of stories. They tell tales while they work in the gardens and especially while they bind corn in the houses. Also, the old people tell stories in the evenings. They tell tales when they are just sitting around and drinking, too.

There are many kinds of stories. A number of them are sung, but many are not. They are never very long, and none lasts for several days as in Ende and Larantuka.

533 There are about ten kinds of songs.

527 For the Catholics, Sundays are free, and the pagans have largely taken this practice over. They are glad to have the day off. Otherwise, the only free days are feast days.

[868] With the dances and singing and story telling
538 there is no regular instruction. There is a decline in interest in the old tales especially,

[1] [i.e., a song title, "White Waves" -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst]

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162 871 [771]	Schooled:	Christian	146	44%
		Mohammedan	14	13%
		Pagan	3	1.4% (all 1 grade only)
[562]	Schooled:	Male	111	35%
		Female	52	16%

Schooled above 3 grades:

Grade 4: three: (ages) 40 (Christian, male), 25 (Christian, male), 15(Christian, male).

Grade 5: six: (ages) 40 (Christian, male) /Assistant/, 40 (Christian, male) /Mandur/, 15 (Christian, male), 15 (Christian, male), 12 (Christian, male), 10 /?/ (Christian, male).

Grade 6: five: (ages) 50 (Christian, male) /Ceram/, 15 (Christian, male), 15 (Christian, male), 14 (Christian, male), 9 /?/ (Christian, female).